/73 cont./

156 the dignitary. The ñanderú Bastião used to tell me unhappily:
157 "Everybody leans on me, for I am ñanderú." In the majority
554 of the present-day villages, the capitão, the official chief of the
622 group, is a relatively young individual, chosen by the official
[829] of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, and one who in general
[648] does not ascribe much importance to the dignity of his office --
[178] except in order to beg.

/74/ 2. Marriage

• 584 Among the Ñandéva and Kayová in former times the initiative for the marriage started with the mother of the bride, or,
[178] sometimes, of the groom. Nowadays, in the majority of cases it is the boy who takes it. He speaks to the girl and her father, who, in turn, serves as an intermediary between the suitor and the girl's mother. When the boy goes to his future father-in-law, it is in order to reach an understanding man to man, considered
[593] less difficult. The father concerns himself very little about the marriage problems of his children, in contrast to the mother, who is really concerned about her daughter's future, asking her opinion in the matter; the daughter, in turn, asks for her advice and due
[585] consent. The married daughter, by the way, when she lives near
[593] her mother, likes to spend the day with her.-- Among the reasons
[594] for refusing a suitor, there were indicated to me in the south of Mato Grosso: his being a drunkard, a vagabond, economically incapable, a member of another subgroup of the tribe, of Paraguayan or Luso-Brazilian origin, or simply personal antipathy.
584 Among the Kayová and Ñandéva of this region there are cases in
593 which the mother suggests to her daughter a husband -- known as
581 orderly, diligent, and the possessor perhaps of riding animals, his own home, clearings, livestock --, and she herself, the mother,
584 will speak with the boy. The more diligent youths already live
591 in their own house as bachelors, being economically independent.

/74 cont./

• 584 Among the Kayová, marriage was more a problem of the two families, who arranged it beforehand, imposing it on the young people; in this subgroup, by the way, it is a little earlier than in the other two. Nowadays many suitors already make their [583] will prevail. People tell of examples, even though they are isolated ones, in which the young man abducted the bride, when she is unable to overcome her parents' resistance. Repression of [107] this "abuse" has been undertaken by the officials of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios.

583 Among the Mbüá the initiative for the amorous life is taken by the boy. There is a sort of trial marriage; many men have a "companion" (txeirũ kuñã vae) before marriage. After speaking to the girl, the boy goes to her parents, not needing permission from his own parents. He takes his companion to the paternal home, where he lives with her for a while and where she cooks together with the boy's mother. If there is a child from these relations and if they "hit it off," that is, if there is [584] accord, they discuss marriage. The lad gathers up his courage and asks the father of the girl for his permission, while she asks the mother of the boy. Among the Mbüá of Xapecó, I was told [585] that the ñanderú officiates at the marriage, which is commemo- [622] rated with a dance. The trial marriage -- I do not know what its 583 /75/ frequency is -- is characterized by two important traits: 591 first, by the patrilocality, and, in the second place, by the absence of defined economic duties. Only with a definitive [585] union does the couple go on to have its own home, coming to constitute a partially independent group of production and consumption. It is important to note that the boy obtains his liberty [593] early, while the girl practically remains tied to her family of origin to the end of her life.

582 They marry early; among the Kayová and Mbüá the 184 woman at about 14 years of age, the man a little later; among the Ñandéva, the woman at about 16, the man at 17 or 18. 836 Kayová and Ñandéva forbid premarital relations, while the Mbüá, 184 as we have seen, institutionalize them. The Kayová aver that 825 jaguars preferably eat the children of unmarried women and 848 adulteresses. 684

/76 cont./

585 178 [581] [304] [829] no one married before having his lip pierced. Nowadays the Kayová is like a beast, because he does not know the system of the old people nor that of the civilized ones." According to the same informant, there formerly existed among the Kayová a marriage ceremony, which was not conducted by the ñanderú or paí (contrary to what Marçal de Souza told me), nor by the capitão of the village, but by a married couple, that is, by a married man and his wife; the man took the boy by the arm, the woman the girl, they were joined and they were considered married. Such a practice, which has disappeared today and about which I have not been able to obtain any detailed data, very probably originated in post-Columbian times; the couple that performs the ceremony reminds one of the "witnesses" or "godparents" of a marriage at the time of the mission. What is certain is that today among the Kayová the marriage is performed in an informal manner by the capitão of the village, who decides whether the claimants shall or shall not consider themselves married.

585 178 [707] [535] [431] In bygone times the Kayová used to commemorate a marriage with a chicha; nowadays they content themselves at least in certain villages, with "a dance of Paraguayan type," at the bride's home and given by her family. The whole village is invited for the entertainment, food being offered to those who appear, and rum being drunk in place of chicha. Gifts are not given to the bride and groom.

585 182 [177] A curious combination of traditional elements with others of recent adoption is observed among the Ñandéva of Araribá. It is clearly seen there how marriage ceremonies become integrated in the /77/ tribal culture to the extent that it preserved characteristics that would permit such integration. The institution of marriage has been adopted by the community; it is concluded according to what one may call "traditional ceremonial techniques." I have not attended any marriage; I owe the description to old Capitão Maneco, Poýdjú. This is his statement:

584 [585] [114] [115] There is not much wooing. In general the young man goes to the girl's parents, asking for their consent to marry. They ask for the opinion of their daughter. Then the parents of both agree

584/77 cont./ Then the parents of both agree with the bride and groom and with the ñanderu on the day of the [192] oñomomendá, or marriage, a celebration for which one does not 585 use the name ñemongaraí (1). The ñanderú performs the mar- 192 riage ceremony in the oýguatsú (house of religious celebrations) at [522] dusk. Relatives and friends attend; the men take their mbaraká and the women go provided with takuá. Men and women who have djeatsaá also take them. The bridegroom must have djeatsaá and mbaraká; the bride, djeatsaá and (a)kanguaá (diadem of feathers from the toucan, peacock /Port. pavão, probably the curassow/, crow -- even from domestic birds) and 585 takuá. Two or three candles of wax from wild bees are lighted, [622] and everyone sings and dances. During the ceremony the ñanderú blows on the breasts of the bride and groom; then he passes both hands over the head and bodies of both the bride and groom. Following this, they drink maize cauim made by the women (the bride may help in making it); they also drink honey of [608] wild bees; sometimes they also take food. At the ceremony there are two couples of godparents; one for the bridegroom, the other one for the bride. Anybody may be chosen for this [533] purpose. At home, then, the celebration of the marriage is held, [177] in which there is dancing to the music of the civilized. Lacking any other instrument, they make a flute of taquara (mimbý). -- 585 Besides the ceremony in the oýguatsú, obligatory for all married 177 couples, there is also the marriage in the Catholic church, which [192] takes place after the first one and to which not all submit; the [608] godparents that act in it are not Indians, but civilized persons who have friendly relations with the couple getting married. The marriage in the Catholic church is followed by a celebration at the home of the bride's father, as is the custom also among [608] the civilized people of the region. Some also marry at the registry office, with civilized godparents, "so that they will not mock the Indians."

/38 cont./

son or a pregnant wife, he may not make the little seat, because it would be dangerous for the life of the baby or of the child to be born, and, besides, the seat would easily break because the restriction had not been observed. For this reason the man may ask, in the first place, the sister's son and, secondly, the brother's son, that he make the seat for him. In the year in which a man has a son who is being initiated, he needs a great quantity of maize. If, by chance, the father has had a bad crop or lacks maize, he will turn to his brother or to the wife's brother, asking him for help in providing the necessary quantity of the commodity.

Although this initiation of the boys has disappeared in a large number of Cayuá aldeias, it continues to have great importance in Taquapirí. A youth is not considered a man until he has his lip pierced. The Cayuá naturally know that this is not true in a biological sense, because a boy may still become pubescent before his lip is pierced. The boys who have never had the lip pierced later suffer from some ailment. This ailment ordinarily appears in the form of pains in the legs and arms. During the ceremony and for some six months afterwards the boys cannot eat beef and pork. If he fails to respect the taboo, the man will later be afflicted intermittently with giddiness, headaches, and states of debility. Many attacks of this nature might overtake him, but it is known that one of them is going to cause his death. Nowadays, however, some of the boys have a plant that they pulverize and eat together with beef and pork, countering in this manner the bad effects of the meat.

Marriage: Marriage constitutes perhaps the most important social event in the social life of the Cayuá. In the first /39/ place it establishes a new series of social relations for the individuals concerned and for their relatives, and, in the second place, the basis is formed for a new elementary family, and the elementary family is the fundamental economic unit of Cayuá society. It was in connection with marriage that we found one of the changes that has taken place in the last 20 or 30 years in the Cayuá kinship system. Previously it was the mothers, that of the young man and that of the young woman, who arranged the marriage,

/39 cont./

584 the initiative falling upon the mother of the girl. They told me
178 that, even when the boy and the girl did not greatly want to marry or even in the case where they were opposed to it, they were forced to satisfy the mothers' wishes. Nowadays the young man first consults the girl about the subject. Once the girl's consent has been obtained, he goes to deal with her father. If the latter consents to it, the marriage ordinarily is realized, but there are also cases in which the young man likewise applied to
585 the girl's mother. The marriage itself does not necessarily need to constitute an occurrence of great repercussion, but many times the brother or the father of the young man organizes a dance feast for the couple; and on this occasion the couple is counseled
[431] by some of the old men in the group. It is not necessary to give presents to the new couple, but the father or any other person
178 may give articles of food, etc. During the earlier period about
591 which I have spoken above, it was customary for the newlyweds to go to live in the girl's house. At that time the Cayuá lived almost exclusively in common houses, so that the couple never left the house of the girl's family. Nowadays a large percentage of the Cayuá own private houses, and if the young man, upon being married, has not yet built a house for himself and his wife, the couple, in theory, lives with the wife's family. Today, however, the cases in which the couple has gone to live in the house of the boy's family are frequent.

595 Monogamy constitutes the general manner of marriage among the present-day Cayuá, although there are no laws against polygamy. I heard mention of only a single case in which one of the men, before the death of his first wife, lived at the same time with another one, by whom he likewise had children. Since the death of the first one, the other one is considered the
836 wife of this man and lives with him. Promiscuity is not common,
837 and it is affirmed that the child of a frivolous woman will be very much a homebody, being obliged not to go into the forest because the jaguars would manage to devour him.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4



**Girls' puberty.**—Among ancient *Guaraní*, at her first menstruation, a girl was sewn in her hammock and remained there for 2 or 3 days. Her hair was cut short and, until it grew to its former length, she had to forego meat and to work hard under the supervision of an older woman. For modern *Caingué* also, coming of age is a critical period which calls for many ritual observances; the girl is secluded for 3 weeks behind a screen in a corner of the house and eats only a few foods, which must be lukewarm. She must not talk, laugh, lift her eyes from the ground, scratch herself, or blow on the fire. She must also listen to advice concerning her future life as a wife and a mother. Before she resumes normal activities, a shaman washes her with a special decoction. 178 881 [756]

**Marriage.**—There is little information on marriage in ancient times. Girls were married soon after puberty. Child betrothal is reported among the *Guaraní* of the Paraná River. In some cases little girls were given to grown men, who lived with their child wives, probably in the house of their future parents-in-law. 178 582 584

Child betrothal is reported among modern *Caingué*, but the girls remain with their parents, who receive presents from their prospective sons-in-law. The preferred form of marriage seems to have been between cross-cousins and between a maternal uncle and his niece. Union with a mother and her daughter and sororal polygyny can be inferred from allusions in the Jesuitic literature. Only chiefs and influential shamans seem to have been able to support several wives. Some powerful caciques are said to have had from 15 to 30 wives. The levirate is stated by Ruíz de Montoya (1892, p. 49) to have been observed by chiefs. Today residence is patrilocal. 595 [174] [622] [766] 587 622

**Death.**—So strong is the hope for reincarnation that a dying *Apapocuva* (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, p. 307) accepts death with great fortitude. He sings medicine songs while women wail and the shamans chant, shaking their rattles in farewell to the departing soul. 591 763 775

Among the ancient *Guaraní*, as soon as a man had breathed his last, his wives and female relatives gave the most violent demonstrations of grief, often injuring themselves by flinging themselves to the ground from some elevation (Ruíz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52). 178 152 764

The ancient *Guaraní* put their dead into large chicha jars and covered them with a bowl. These funeral urns were buried up to the neck (Ruíz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52).[4] Modern *Caingué* bury their dead directly in the ground with arms and legs flexed against the body or lay them with their possessions in a wooden trough or hollowed tree trunk. 178 764

Both ancient and some modern *Guaraní* bury their dead in the hut, which is immediately abandoned. The *Caingué* of Paraguay inter the 000

[4] Ruíz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52: "... muchos enterraban sus muertos en unas grandes tinajas, poniendo un plato en la boca para que en aquella concavidad estuviese mas acomodado el alma aunque estas tinajas las enterraban hasta el cuello."